

SENATE—Wednesday, April 21, 1999

The Senate met at 10:30 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, You have given humankind freedom of will to choose to love and to serve You. Today we are painfully aware of the tragic misuse of this freedom in Kosovo and yesterday in Littleton, Colorado, at Columbine High School. It is with grief that we have followed the merciless bloodshed of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. On television and in our daily newspapers, we have looked into the haunted, anguished faces of the refugees driven from their homes.

And now, this morning, we are shocked by the accounts of the shooting of fellow students by disaffected young men filled with hate and anger. We pray for the parents, families, and friends of the many teenagers who were killed or wounded.

O God, when there is no place else to turn, we return to You. You have not given up on humankind in spite of all the dreadful things we do to ourselves and to one another. We confess our own little sins of prejudice and rejection that we see written large in the crises of our times. O Lord of Hosts, be with us yet, lest we forget to love You and glorify You by respecting the wonder of each person's life. Through our Lord and Savior. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Washington State is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, under the order of last night, the Senate will be in a period of morning business until 12:30 p.m. Following morning business, the Senate will begin debate on the conference report to accompany the education flexibility bill. By previous order, there are 3 hours of debate on the conference report, and a vote can be expected at the conclusion or yielding back of that time.

On Tuesday, a cloture motion was filed on the lockbox amendment to S. 557. Therefore, Senators should expect that cloture vote on Thursday. As a reminder, pursuant to rule XXII, second-degree amendments must be filed 1 hour prior to a vote on cloture.

I thank my colleagues for their attention.

Mr. President, I seek recognition in my own right. I believe the remarks I am about to make are more proper from my own desk than from the majority leader's.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAPO). If the Senator will permit, the Chair will read these orders and then the time will be granted.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 12:30 p.m. with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

Under the previous order, the Senator from Washington, Mr. GORTON, is recognized to speak for up to 15 minutes.

WAR IN THE BALKANS

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, the Congress is about to be asked to appropriate \$10 billion, and perhaps more, in emergency funds to finance a war in the Balkans and to help the refugees that war has created. We will be asked to do so after a brief debate and with no opportunity to impose conditions or to add reservations. That is the wrong way to deal with so grave an issue.

On March 23, the Senate authorized air attacks on Yugoslavia in the hope that they would motivate the Government of Yugoslavia to grant autonomy to the Kosovars, a status far less than the independence they seek, enforced by the presence of American and other NATO troops for an undefined period of time, and thus to prevent a refugee crisis. We have been spectacularly unsuccessful at attaining either goal.

I voted against the March resolution. I did so because I believe that the United States should engage in armed conflict only when its vital interests are at stake, and that the then Serb repression of the Kosovar Albanians did not involve any of our vital national interests.

My vote was also motivated by the belief that the limited bombing proposed would be unlikely to help us reach the dubious goal of occupying Kosovo. When we do engage our Armed Forces in conflict, we should do so de-

cisively and with overwhelming force aimed at the cause of the conflict—in this case, the Milosevic government in Belgrade.

This conflict, to the contrary, was begun in too limited a fashion to be likely to bring the Serbs to heel, with no contingency plans should the early bombing not work, and with no anticipation of the brutal Serb reaction in driving hundreds of thousands of Kosovars out of home and country.

It is that failure that brings us to our present state. The President will not acknowledge our failure to reach his goals, will not speak seriously to the American people about both ends and means, and will not ask Congress to authorize him to act decisively and to support him in doing so. Instead, we are engaged in a conflict in which the primary goal seems to be to avoid American casualties, the secondary goal to avoid Serbian casualties. So the only real casualties are among the Kosovar Albanians, the people the conflict was designed to protect.

The President will not, and should not, send our troops into Kosovo and won't arm the Kosovo rebels so they can defend themselves. We bomb buildings that we are certain are empty but not television towers or airports. We bomb oil storage depots but allow oil tankers to unload replacement oil within sight of our fleet.

At this point, of course, a conflict over an issue that was not vital to our national security in the beginning has now escalated to one that is, both with respect to the refugees and to the survival of NATO itself, all due to the frivolous and half-hearted nature of our military operations. In the abstract, this fact lays weight to the arguments of Senators LUGAR and MCCAIN, among others, to lift the artificial and self-defeating renunciation of ground operations.

But their arguments flounder disastrously with the first whiff of reality. This is a war run by committee. A dozen politicians from almost as many countries must sign off on targets even with respect to the air war. The United States has not even sought NATO consent to arm the Kosovars and to blockade Yugoslavia.

Does any Senator believe for a moment that this administration will wage or is capable of waging a real war with victory as its goal? No.

We have only four realistic alternatives, all unpalatable. First, there is the remote hope that Milosevic will surrender and agree to our demands. Under those circumstances, we would get to occupy Kosovo for perhaps 25